DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 170 822 CS 502 530

AUTHOR Elsea, Kenneth J.
TITLE The Role of Communication in Organizational Socialization: A Selective Review of Relevant Literature.
PUB DATE May 79
NOTE 42p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Communication Association (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, May 1-5, 1979)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Behavior; *Communication (Thought Transfer); Job Satisfaction; Job Skills; *Organizational Communication; Organizations (Groups); *Socialization; Values
IDENTIFIERS *Communication Research

ABSTRACT

Defining organizational socialization as the process by which people learn the values, norms, and required behaviors that permit them to participate as members of an organization, this paper offers a review of representative, relevant literature on the role of communication in the process. The studies are organized according to six general approaches: the sociological approach, the stages approach, the reinforcement approach, the modeling approach, the role-taking approach, and the role-making approach. In addition, the paper discusses the implications of the studies and suggests directions for future investigations of communication in organizational socialization. (FL)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

ED170822

THE ROLE OF COMMUNICATION IN ORGANIZATIONAL SOCIALIZATION: A SELECTIVE REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE[1]

Kenneth J. Elsea
Purdue University
Department of Communication
304 Heavilon Hall
West Lafayette, IN 47907

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Kenneth J. Elsea

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Abstract

Organizational socialization is defined and its importance is discussed. Previous approaches to the study of organizational socialization are described and representative findings are reported for each approach. Within each area, communication is discussed and future studies focusing on communication are suggested.

Paper presented at the Annual Convention of the International Communication Association, Organizational Communication Division, Philadelphia, May, 1979.

CS 502 530

THE ROLE OF COMMUNICATION IN ORGANIZATIONAL SOCIALIZATION: A SELECTIVE REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

An obvious and sometimes overwhelming aspect of modern life is the impact of organizational membership on people. Besides work organizations, social and service organizations demand time and commitment from their members. As Whyte (1955) and Porter and Lawler (1968) note, a person's work organization may determine where one will live, how and how long one will labor, the people with whom one will associate and even what one's children will become. In addition to encouraging certain associations, the organization may discourage association with certain others. Personal and work-related values may also be altered by organizational membership and roles. (Rosenberg, 1957; Hinrichs, 1972).

"The process by which a person learns the values, norms and required behaviors which permit him to participate as a member of the organization" is termed organizational socialization by Van Maanen (1972: p. 2). According to Schein (1968), this process of "learning the ropes," which is the price of organizational membership, is ubiquitous and continual throughout one's career. Whereas occupational socialization refers to broader aspects of one's indoctrination into a particular discipline, trade or profession, organizational socialization is concerned with learning about a particular role and situation. Thus, whenever an organizational member changes roles or locations in an organization, organizational socialization takes place.

Apart from the effects of membership in an organization, the socialization process is important in its own right, for organizational socialization may "make or break" a career for the individual. For the

organization, stability, long-term effectiveness and its very existence are dependent upon the ability to socialize new members. (Schein, 1968). Apparently, even what appears to be successful socialization does not assure long-term organizational membership. For instance, Gottfredson (1977), using census data for the period 1965-70, reported that occupational stability increases as a function of age; approximately 25% of workers aged 21-30 made occupational changes while less than 10% of workers aged 51-70 made such changes.

As Schein (1968) notes, although organizational socialization involves learning, it does not include all learning. Rather, it includes only those values, norms and behavior patterns which, from the point of view of organization or group, are necessary for the neophyte to learn. Assording to Schein (1968), these usually include:

1. The basic goals of the organization.
2. The preferred means by which these goals should be attained.
3. The basic responsibilities of the member in the role which is being granted to him by the organization.
4. The behavior patterns which are required for effective performance in the role.
5. A set of rules or principles which pertain to the maintenance of the identity and integrity of the organization. (p. 3)

These necessary or pivotal norms and values are most important in socialization. Next in importance are relevant norms and values, which are not absolutely necessary but which are considered desirable by the organization. A third category of norms and values is labeled peripheral because their acceptance is incidental to the organization. An individual's

response to the socialization efforts of the organization is rebellion if he rejects all the organization's values and norms. His response is creative individualism if he accepts only pivotal values and norms. Finally, his response is conformity if he accepts all values and norms (Schein, 1968).

Thus, the socialization process may be seen as the influence attempt by the organization to fit its new member to the job. The other side of the coin, called individualization by Porter, Lawler and Hackman (1975) encompasses the individual's attempt to alter the job to fit him. Hackman (1978) recently predicted an increase in the "fitting people to the jobs" strategy. If such be the case, then increased attention to the socialization process would seem doubly warranted.

Despite the intuitive obviousness of the importance of communication in organizational socialization, relatively little research has been done on the role of communication in organizational socialization. Perhaps just as important is the lack of research done from a clearly communicative viewpoint. Where research has been done, usually by sociologists and psychologists, communication has been treated cursorily, while structural characteristics of organizations, member's personality characteristics and member's work performance have been emphasized.

The purpose of this paper, therefore, is twofold. First, a review of representative, relevant literature on organizational socialization will be presented. While this review is by no means exhaustive of all studies relevant to socialization, it does outline major research approaches previously undertaken and presents findings representative of each approach. Second, implications and directions for investigations of

communication in organizational socialization are discussed. This paper should be viewed as a beginning point; to the extent that its summaries are useful and its implications are provocative, it will have succeeded. That it will raise more questions than it will answer is reflective of our current state of knowledge about socialization and about organizational communication.

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Six general approaches[2] to organizational socialization are delineated. While placement of certain studies into the categories is necessarily arbitrary, it is nevertheless useful for the purposes of organization and clarity.

The Sociological Approach. Until relatively recently, the area of "adult socialization" was neglected. The sociological approach views organizational socialization as a part of adult socialization. Brim (1966) defines socialization as "the process by which persons acquire the knowledge, skills and dispositions that make them more or less able members of society" (p. 3) and notes that people move through different positions throughout life. Hence, the need for socialization continues throughout life. From Brim's perspective, then, socialization is necessary "to transform the human raw material into good working members" (p. 5). Moreover, personality is largely constituted by learned interpersonal relationships. Socialization involves learning the role of the other, and these role demands of society become internalized as part of the person. As the individual passes into adulthood, he must be "resocialized" for new roles. Organizational socialization of the adult is thus different

from the socialization of the child. Whereas the child has the clearly specified role of learner, Brim contends that most adults, with rare exceptions, do not have this role clearly specified. Much adult socialization, therefore, proceeds by trial and error. Brim (1960) does propose that any environmental variable must operate through the individual's knowledge, his motivation or his ability.

While Brim is more concerned with society as a whole, Wheeler (1966) views socialization from an institutional vantage point. For Wheeler, "the focus is on the organizational context of socialization and on the way in which differently organized contexts may produce different socialization experiences." (p. 53). Wheeler seeks to go beyond the boundaries of individual case studies and describe features distinctive or organizations which process people. While Wheeler is primarily interested in those organizations (one might say institutions) which produce people, not goods, his typologies cover all types of organizations. Wheeler's typology of processing systems, for example, treats nonsocial (goods) and social (people) objects in either a relatively undifferentiated or relatively differentiated agency.

A Typology of Processing Systems *

		Degree of Differentiation of Processing Agency	
		Relatively Undifferentiated	Relatively Differentiated
Type of Product	Nonsocial Object	Type I Individual craftsman	Type II Mass-production factory
	Social Object	Type III Teacher-pupil Mother-child Doctor-patient	Type IV School, prison, mental hospital, trade training center

*from Wheeler (1966).

Another typology describing the social composition of other members as either disjunctive or serial and the social context of entering members as either individual or collective is also presented.

A Typology of Interpersonal Settings *

		Social Context of Entering Members	
		Individual	Collective
Social Composition of Other Members	Disjunctive	Type I Oldest child in family; first occupant of newly created job	Type II Summer traning institute; group of visiting scholars in foreign country
	Serial	Type III New occupant of a job previously occupied by another person	Type IV Schools; universities; professional training centers (approximated by prisons and mental hospitals)

*from Wheeler (1966).

Wheeler claims that his classification scheme has certain advantages over those of earlier theorists (Etzioni, 1961; Blau & Scott, 1962; Parsons, 1956). For instance, Wheeler's typology distinguishes between the employees of the organization and those being processed by the organization while Etzioni's typology does not. Compared to the classification system of Blau and Scott (1962), Wheeler's categorization delineates organizations which merely provide a service (a shop or dental clinic) from those which have long-range plans for systematic changes in their clients. Finally, whereas Parsons (1956) is concerned with the function the organization serves for the larger social system, Wheeler is concerned with the finer distinctions of function for each type of organization.

Within the context of his classification scheme, Wheeler recommends the investigation of the following important variables: organizational goals; variability in the composition of the recruit population; interaction rate; role differentiation and formation of subcultures; the institutional setting in relation to the external environment; and the social climate of the institution. While interaction rate is clearly a communication variable, each of the other variables also has important implications for organizational communication.

Becker (1968), taking a symbolic interaction approach, is interested in how the individual comes to take the role of the generalized other, the organization in this case. He is thus concerned with the self as a combination of roles one takes and with the continual nature of socialization. Becker discusses a number of "lessons" learned from earlier studies of adult socialization. These lessons are summarized by the four statements below:

1. Change processes are more complicated than the officially approved ways of change (Wheeler, 1961).
2. Organizational structure, including formal and informal relationships among the participants and recurring situations among the participants, influence the socialization process. (Stanton & Schwartz, 1954).
3. People being socialized, if given the opportunity, might respond as a group as well as individually (Becker, Geer, Hughes & Strauss, 1961).
4. The world beyond the socializing organization's boundaries can affect the socializing process (Davis & Olsen, 1963).

Becker posits that a culture may grow up among those being socialized. The growth of such a culture is dependent upon communication for its development. Specifically, the kind of communication possible and the routes it takes will determine the degree and nature of the culture

(Becker and Geer, 1960). Becker suggests that Wheeler's (1966) typology of interpersonal settings might be useful in examining the development of a culture. If an organization takes in recruits individually rather than collectively or disjunctively rather than serially, communication among neophytes is made more difficult and the resulting culture (if it develops) will be different from that resulting in organizations employing collective and serial techniques.

In addition to social structure, Becker (1968) is concerned with mechanisms of change. Situational adjustment (Becker, 1964), for example, refers to the individual's discovery of "how things are done here" and his incorporation of new anticipations of other's responses into his self. A second mechanism, commitment (Becker, 1960), is defined in terms of costs and rewards:

> A person is committed whenever he realizes it will cost him more to change his line of behavior than it will to continue to act in a way that is consistent with his past actions, and that this state of affairs has come about through some prior action of his own (Becker, 1968; p. 204).

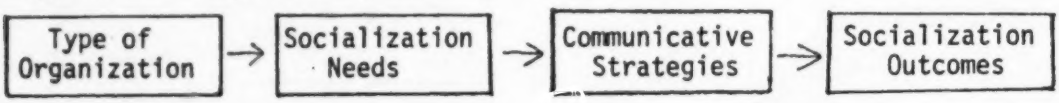
Using Selznick's (1953) description of the "fanaticism" of recruits to TVA as evidence, Becker (1968) suggests that insulation from the opinions of others helps breed commitment.

Etzioni (1961) provides yet another way of viewing involvement in the organization. Organizations are classified according to their primary compliance structures, which may be coercive, utilitarian or normative. Different types of organizations differ in their use of types of communication. "Instrumental communication distributes information and knowledge and affects cognitive orientations" while

"expressive communication changes or reinforces attitudes, norms, and values." (Etzioni, 1961: p. 138).[3] Normative organizations emphasize downward expressive communication, utilitarian organizations stress vertical instrumental communication, and coercive organizations are characterized by expressive horizontal communication.

It is interesting that Etzioni (1961) views socialization in terms of communication. He states: "Socialization is the mechanism through which the existing consensus structures and communication practices are transferred to new generations of participants." (p. 150). Formal socialization refers to socialization done by the higher-up office holders in the organization while informal socialization is done by the organization's lower members. In coercive organizations, formal socialization tends to be limited and instrumental; expressive socialization is informal. In utilitarian organizations, there is great reliance on external agencies for both expressive and instrumental socialization although expressive, informal socialization may be carried out by work groups. In normative organizations, there is typically the greatest amount of both expressive and instrumental socialization and the least amount of informal socialization.

Because the sociological approach has provided meaningful ways of categorizing organizations, it is somewhat surprising that scholars of organizational communication have not put them to extensive use. At least one way of making use of the knowledge obtained from the sociological approach is suggested by the figure below.



Viewed from the perspectives of the figure above, communication occupies a central role in the socialization process, for it is through the use of communicative strategies that the educational and persuasive efforts of the organization reach the recruit. A useful way of conceptualizing these socializing strategies is presented by Van Maanen (1978). These strategies are discussed briefly below.

1. Formal strategies take place in a setting which is segregated from the ongoing work context (e.g. classroom training) while informal strategies proceed in the "normal," everyday work setting. Thus formal strategies prepare to recruit for a certain status in the organization while informal processes prepare the newcomer for a role. Formal strategies are often used as a first step in socialization. Formal strategies limit the neophyte's interaction with the already established organizational members and thus can produce stress, stigma and alienation for the trainee. Informal processes, however, may produce stress by failing to provide sufficient instruction; informal procedures also allow a recruit more latitude in selecting his own socializing agents.

2. Individual strategies socialize recruits singly while collective strategies operate on groups. As noted earlier, the increased opportunities and demands for group interaction may serve the ends of the organization or produce resistance among the recruits. Individual strategies (e.g. apprenticeship) are, of course, expensive for the organization.

3. Sequential strategies involve a series of discrete, identifiable phases the individual must pass while nonsequential strategies require but one transitional phase. Sequential strategies tend to allow for different socializing agents, thus increasing the chances of conflicting

messages being communicated to the newcomer. Sequential strategies may also create pressure on the recruit to move to the next phase, despite feelings of "not being ready yet."

4. Fixed strategies tell the recruit precisely just how long it will take to finish a given part in the socialization process while variable strategies provide no advance notice of a timetable. Variable strategies, therefore, leave it to the neophyte to gather information from various sources and construct a personal estimate of transition time since such matters are usually of great concern.

5. Tournament strategies divide newcomers into programs or tracks on the basis of presumed differences in ability, background, etc. while contest strategies separate people on the basis of performance only. Tournament strategies tend to signify that once placed in the "wrong track," the recruit's fate is sealed. Contest strategies, however, stress performance in each opportunity, so that all is not lost because of poor performance in one round. Thus tournament strategies may tend to encourage cooperation and participation among the prospective members.

6. Serial strategies allow experienced members to have contact with newcomers while disjunctive strategies do not. Serial strategies, therefore, encourage organizational stability while disjunctive strategies allow the recruits more creativity since they receive less direct information about "the way it's always been done."

7. Investiture strategies reinforce the existing identity of newcomers while divestiture strategies tear away at least some aspects

of the neophyte's existing identity. Investiture strategies tend to be relatively painless, but divestiture strategies may involve debasement. Investiture strategies would seem to tolerate if not encourage individual differences brought to the new situation while divestiture strategies stress the achievement of similar identities and solidarity among recruits.

In sum, the communicative strategies may be determined by various factors of the socializing organization. These strategies, in turn, have various effects on the recruits and the organization. Van Maanen's classification of strategies seems to provide a useful way of studying the role of communication in socialization processes. His dimensions offer an improvement over the previous less complex schema of "methods" of socialization given by Caplow (1964). Caplow divides the methods of socialization into six areas: selection, training, apprenticeship, debasement experiences, anticipatory socialization, and trial and error. Van Maanen's (1978) typology can incorporate Caplow's methods and enrich our analyses of the communicative strategies employed by organizations.

The Stages Approach. This approach might more charitably be termed the developmental approach. However, since socialization is developmental by definition and since all who study it take, more or less, a developmental approach, the label "stages" delineates this approach from the others. Moreover, the investigators classified into this section specify certain stages or phases through which the individual passes. Table 1 shows four examples of the stages approach.

Table 1. Examples of the stages approach to organizational socialization

Author	Stages of Socialization
Van Maanen (1972)	Choice: Anticipatory Socialization Entry: Encounter Continuance: Metamorphosis
Porter, Lawler & Hackman (1975)	Prearrival Encounter Change and Acquisition
Thornton & Nardi (1975)	Anticipatory Formal Informal Personal
Feldman (1976)	Anticipatory Socialization Accomodation Role management Outcomes

All four approaches treated here begin before the individual encounters the firm. This prearrival or anticipatory stage involves the individual's personality characteristics and expectations of what will happen as an association with the organization is begun. From a communicative standpoint, two questions are important here. First, which communication-related personality factors are related to the recruit's expectations? Daly and McCroskey (1975), for example, reported that communication apprehension is related to the choice and desirability of an individual's occupation. Second, which sources use which means to communicate information that individuals use to form expectations? Thornton and Nardi (1975) suggest that an important source of such information is the mass media. Communication scholars might concern themselves with the question of how masculine and feminine "ethics" of management (Kanter, 1977) are transmitted through the mass media. Other important sources of information at this stage may be role incumbents

or the organization itself. Macedonia (1969) and Wanous (1973) have shown that realistic expectations can produce effective socialization.

Feldman (1976), alone among the investigators cited here, empirically tested his model of stages. He suggests there are two meaningful process variables operative in the anticipatory phase. "Realism is the extent to which individuals have a full and accurate picture of what life in the organization is really like" (Feldman, 1976: p. 434). Congruence is "the extent to which the organization's resources and individual needs and skills are mutually satisfying" (p. 435). Both realism and congruence were significantly related to variables measured during the socialization process.

A second stage centers on the individual's contact with the organization. The encounter phase of Van Maanen (1975) and Porter, Lawler and Hackman (1975) is encompassed by the accomodation phase of Feldman (1976). The formal stage and part of the informal stage of Thornton and Nardi (1975) also correspond to the encounter stage. Thornton and Nardi explain that the formal stage is composed of the individual's exposure to formal role requirements, which are often stated in formal, written terms. The formal stage thus seems to emphasize what Schein (1968) earlier described as pivotal requirements. Thornton and Nardi's informal stage includes transmission of unofficial expectations, which are similar to Schein's relevant and peripheral requirements. Such expectations are learned primarily through interaction with others rather than through formalized statements.

Feldman's stage of accomodation occurs when the individual sees what the organization is really like and begins to become a participant

in it. At this stage, Feldman isolates four main activities of new members: learning new tasks, establishing new interpersonal relationships with co-workers, clarifying their roles in the organization and evaluating their progress in the organiozation. Realism, as determined in Feldman's first stage of anticipatory socialization, significantly affects only role clarification while congruence significantly affects all activities except learning new tasks.

Obviously, interaction (communication) between the new worker and his superior, his co-workers, his subordinates and others within the organization is the key to investigating this stage. Any one or a combination of several communication variables from dyadic and group settings are the appropriate focus of investigation. For instance, the effects of different communicator styles (Norton, 1978) on superior-subordinate-peer relations and phases of group interaction (Ellis & Fisher, 1975) while initiating new members are but two potentially profitable studies which could add to our knowledge of socialization processes.

The final stage of socialization focuses on the changes in the individual. After Caplow (1964), Porter, Lawler & Hackman (1975) note that the individual acquires a new self image, relationships, values and modes of behavior. Their categorization may be useful, but much needs to be done to fill out the bones of this sekletal outline with the flesh of empirical results. Feldman (1976) in his third stage, termed role management, posits that resolution of conflicting demands from within the organization and resolution of outside life conflicts are affected by the congruence of evaluation from an earlier phase. In turn,

the resolutions affect general satisfaction and internal work motivations, which compose his final stage, outcomes. Thornton and Nardi's (1975) final stage, labeled personal, focuses on individual attempts at modification of the role dictated by the organization. In other words, in the personal phase, the recruit makes the role his own. This stage is more fully developed throughout the socialization process by Graen (1976) whose approach will be discussed later.

The final stage, like the earlier ones, should suggest important areas of investigation to students of communication. First, as indicated by Thronton and Nardi (1976) the individual makes influence attempts of his own. Thus, his strategies and messages must be examined in an attempt to discern the role of communication in socialization. Second, an important outcome, as yet largely unstudied, should be the acquisition of knowledge of how, when and with whom to communicate. In short, communication-oriented outcomes are an essential index of the success of socialization. A final type of investigation suggested by the stages approach calls for the examination of actual behavioral differences in communication across stages.

The Reinforcement Approach. This approach might also be called the operant approach or the Skinnerian approach. As Nord (1969) argues in his provocative conceptual piece, the work of Skinner (1948, 1953, 1954) has not been given its due in the management and organizational literature while such "humanistic" psychologists as McGregor, Maslow and Herzberg have been overly emphasized.

From Nord's (1969) viewpoint, the essential task for organizational theorists in this area is to discover which environmental conditions, including the behavior of others, will be maximally reinforcing. Such

a discovery would allow organizations to "shape" behavior. After discussing the now familiar differences between classical and operant conditioning, reinforcement schedules, a response hierarchy, punishment, extinction and positive reinforcement, Nord begins a search for organizationally controlled factors which may serve as reinforcers. One such factor is approval from one's peers. Gewirtz and Baer (1958), for example, found that social approval has the same effects as other reinforcers in operant situations. Nord interprets Dalton's (1948) study on rate-busters as signifying that people who are more "group oriented" are more affected by social approval. In short, group influences on the individual are profound and widespread; from Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939) to Hackman (1976) group influences on the individual are well documented. However, the organization may not always be able to control the nature of timing of the group's reinforcements.

Studies focusing specifically on group reinforcements in the socializing of new members would add much to our knowledge; unfortunately, such studies are few and far between. Jablonsky and Devries (1972) present a model that takes into account reinforcement by peers, but they do not test the model. Glaser and Klauss (1966) found that group responses to environmental contingencies are not as sensitive as individual responses though both groups and individuals respond. Greller and Herold (1975) examined five sources of information (the formal organization, supervisor, co-workers, task, self) about job requirements and the extent to which the requirements were met. These authors found that in determining job requirements the rank order of importance of sources was: supervisor, self, task, co-workers, organization. For feedback on job requirements

the order of importance was: self, task, supervisor, co-workers and organization. "Psychological closeness" thus seems to determine the source of information. While this study suffers from several limitations, its results could serve as a beginning point in determining relative reinforcement values of particular sources and messages. Two general types of messages seem to suggest important areas of investigation. First, as Guetzkow (1965) indicates, people strongly desire to receive communication; hence feedback or information about performance may be rewarding to the individual and inexpensive for the organization. Second, recognition (varbal notice) was found by Locke (1973) to be one of the most frequently mentioned events causing job satisfaction, expecially among blue collar workers.

In addition to group effects, reinforcement may be communicated by superiors and subordinates. Because superior-subordinate communication has been reviewed comprehensively elsewhere (Redding, 1972; Jablin, 1978), extensive comment here would be needlessly redundant. Superior-subordinate reinforcement operates in both directions in socialization processes. Despite a growing body of findings documenting the impact of the subordinate on the superior (e.g. Lowin & Craig, 1968; Hinton & Barrow, 1975), reinforcement models, especially those of Nord (1969) and Jablonsky and Devries (1978), tend to ignore the subordinate's influence. Subordinate disparagement of superior's competence was reported by Fodor (1974) to affect superior's distribution of rewards while Hegarty (1974) has shown that subordinate feedback, via survey methods, can help increase superior performance. Superiors who frequently criticize subordinates for poor work are seen as less effective than less critical

superiors (oldham, 1976). When subordinate's performance reinforces the superior (positively or negatively) the superior tends to reinforce the subordinate similarly (Hinton & Barrow, 1975). Finally, Jablin (1977) reports that both superior and subordinates prefer message-responses which provide relational feedback to those which do not provide such feedback.

Despite the potentially powerful explanatory power of the reinforcement approach, it has not been frequently applied to the study of socialization. While some, most notably Porter, Lawler and Hackman (1975) discuss socialization in reinforcement terms, few have studied socialization from this perspective. For the student of communication, this approach could help determine the relative effectiveness of verbal rewards in various situations as they shape behavior during socialization. It might also serve as a way to determine the relative influence of various sources and types of information. Those contemplating research in this area would be well advised to read Mawhinney (1975), who reviews problems of interpretation, application and evaluation of the operant approach.

The Modeling Approach. Often called the social learning approach, this approach holds that learning may take place through direct reinforcement or through modeling. Modeling may be based on real-life models or symbolic models, represented pictorally or verbally. The observational learning effect is most clearly evident when individuals reproduce previously unlearned novel behaviors performed by models. Observational learning may also serve to strengthen or weaken inhibitions to previously learned responses. (Bandura, 1971).

Bandura's (1971) social learning theory includes four subprocesses. First, attentional processes are necessary, for it is not sufficient for

the individual to simply be exposed to the model. Rather, discriminative observation of the relevant behavior is necessary. Second, the individual, through retention processes, retains the original observations in symbolic (probably verbal) form. Third, motoric reproduction processes utilize these stored symbolic representations to guide overt performance of behavior. Fourth, reinfrocement and motivational processes include external reinforcement, self reinforcement or vicarious reinforcement. Vicarious reinforcement emanates from witnessing a model's actions being rewarded or punished. If the individual's or the model's behavior is not directly reinforced, then the individual may attend to other cues from the model for additional information. (Bandura, 1971).

Imitative processes have been used to explain the acquisition of aggressive and altruistic behaviors (Baron, Byrne & Griffit, 1974). Several studies (e.g. Bandura, Ross & Ross, 1963; Grusec & Nischel, 1966) lend support to Bandura's formulations. The model's competence (Baron, 1972) and status (Lefkowitz, Blake & Mouton, 1955) have been shown to influence imitation. Most of the research using the modeling approach has been experimental and has employed students of various ages.

The social learning approach is just beginning to receive attention in organizational socialization investigations. Two reports of the same data base by Weiss (1977, 1978) form the beginnings in this area. Weiss used questionnaire data from 141 lower level supervisors (subordinates) and 58 higher-level supervisors (their superiors) to investigate modeling in seven organizations. The more the superior was viewed as competent and successful, the greater the behavioral similarity (especially consideration behaviors) between superior and subordinate, for low-self esteem but not high self-esteem subordinates. Reward power of superior

was not associated with behavioral similarities. Superior success, but not reward power, was significantly related to subordinate's expectations that behavior would lead to reward for total behaviors and initiating structure behaviors.

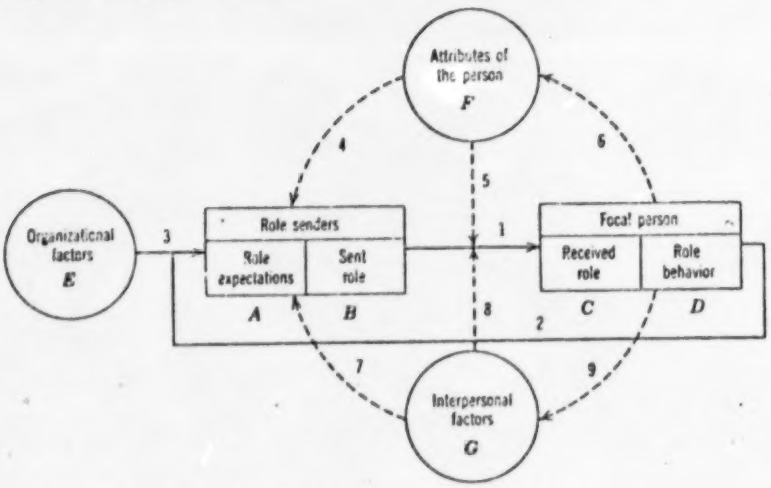
The modeling approach appears to be a useful way of examining socialization processes. The student of communication might be interested in several aspects of modeling. For example, factors which make a model credible (this area could be founded on our substantial body of literature on credibility), training procedures employing modeling, cues which the observer seeks and effectiveness of socialization through modeling are just a few areas which could yield important findings. How peers and possibly even subordinates function as models should also be investigated. Especially for those who would define communication without the constraint of intentionality imposed by Scott (1977), the modeling approach may prove fruitful indeed, for it suggests that role search activities by the individual need not even be noticed by the model.

The Role-Taking Approach. The role-taking approach is epitomized in the work of Katz and Kahn and their colleagues (e.g. Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek and Rosenthal, 1964; Katz & Kahn, 1966, 1978). By defining human organizations as open systems of roles, Katz and Kahn (1978) use roles to link individuals to organizations. A necessarily brief summary of the Katz and Kahn role-taking approach follows.

Katz and Kahn (1978) define a position as a point in organizational space while role is defined as the expected set of behaviors for a position. The focal person who occupies the position receives role-related messages from the role set, composed of all those people whose roles are tied to the focal person's role. Role behavior, performed by the

focal person, is a repetitive set of acts which, when taken in combination with the role behaviors of others, yields predictable outcomes. The role-taking process is essentially an influence process with members of the role set explicitly attempting to influence the behavior of the focal person.

A single step in this influence process is called a role episode, described by the model below.



A theoretical model of factors involved in the taking of organizational roles. *

*from Katz and Kahn (1978).

As the model indicates a role episode is fundamentally described by a linear model of communication with a feedback loop. At the same time, the model is rather general, capable of accounting for organizational and interpersonal factors. In addition, the role set (composed of the role senders) may include people outside the organizational boundaries (friends, spouses, etc.). The role episode is thus one iteration of an ongoing process. Four concepts form the basis of the role episode: role expectations, the evaluative standards applied to the behavior of the focal person; sent role, messages meant to express role expectations

which are sent by members of the role set and by the focal person to himself; received role, the focal person's perceptions of the messages; and role behavior, the focal person's response to the messages.

"Research evidence for this model of role-taking in organizations is irregular in quality and relevance. It is, however, substantial in quantity and gaining in other respects." (Katz & Kahn, 1978: pp. 199-200). Because Katz and Kahn (1978) have recently reviewed the literature pertaining to the role-taking model, only research relevant to particular communication-related aspects of the model will be presented here. Some investigators (Thomas, Polansky and Kounin, 1955; Sherwood, 1958) have found significant agreement on role expectations for specific roles. What has not been investigated is how members of the role set come to form their expectations in the first place. Just as the focal member receives information from his role set, so too do members of the role set receive information on which to base their expectations. Knowledge of the form, sources and impact of this information might reveal how role expectations change or remain stable as they are transmitted to a succession of recruits during socialization.

Clearly, communication is ubiquitous in the organization, as researchers from Horsfall and Arensberg (1949), who reported 20.9 acts of communication/hour/worker for shoe workers, to Meissner (1976), who found varying frequencies (from twice a day to less than once an hour) in different industries, have demonstrated. What is not clear is how much communication is used for the purpose of sending role expectations. Moreover, "little is yet known of how role expectations as actually sent compare to expectations in the mind of the role-set." (Katz & Kahn: p. 201). Message encoding processes, therefore, are yet another area to be studied.

While the role-taking process might fail at any point in be model, the most obvious place for a "communication breakdown" is the link between sent role and received role. Laboratory studies (Cline & Richards, 1960; Orne & Scheibe, 1964) have demonstrated that people are proficient in receiving and understanding role-taking messages. Out of the laboratory, however, the process does not run so smoothly. Kraut (1965) studied the expectations of managers for sales by agents and the agents' perceptions of the managers' expectations of sales. Although there may be numerous explanations of why the message sent is not the message received (situational factors, individual differences in frames of reference, perception, etc.), one basic possibility is the message. While communication scholars may differ on definitions of communication, the nature of communication and what we should emphasize, message seems to be the common element in most formulations. As such, message thus offers a potentially rich variety of perspectives, drawing from rhetorical as well as social scientific traditions for studying the socialization process from a clearly communicative viewpoint. One place to begin a study of messages is with the dimensions of messages offered by Redding (1972): medium, mode, channel, form and content. These dimensions include the most basic and important considerations of messages and are compatible with the strategies of Van Maanen (1978) discussed earlier.

The relative effectiveness of different types of messages would seem to be especially important since the recruit may receive role expectations from more than one role sender. Thus, there exists the possibility of role conflict, defined as "the simultaneous occurence of two or more role expectations such that compliance with one would make compliance with the other more difficult." (Katz & Kahn; 1978: p. 204)

Role conflict has been associated with reduced teaching effectiveness (Getzels & Guba, 1954; Bible and McComas, 1963) and psychological strain (Kahn & Quinn, 1970). Moreover, role conflict in work situations seems to be widespread. Kahn and colleagues (1964) and Quinn and others (1974) report that role conflict is reported by about 1/3 to 1/2 of the workers surveyed. Role ambiguity, the uncertainty about what to do, has consequences similar to those for role conflict. Reduced performance (Cohen, 1959) and turnover (Weitz, 1956), for example, have been associated with role ambiguity. Percentages of employees reporting substantial role ambiguity on national surveys range from 11 to 35. (Katz & Kahn, 1978). Too little role ambiguity, however, may be dysfunctional as well. As Redding (Note 4) has argued, organizations may require an "optimal uncertainty" for their well being. Discovery of this optimal level for both the organization and the individual and how it is best achieved via which socialization practices are yet further areas of needed inquiry. In sum, research on organizational role-taking has often been done on employees who had already formed ongoing role relationships. Far less work has been focused on the initial process of socialization. Katz and Kahn's role-taking model, which has basic communicative processes at its core, should continue to be a useful framework for future research.

The Role-Making Approach. Although this approach is similar in many ways to the role-taking approach, it has important differences as well. Also found under the rubric "Vertical Dyadic Linkage" because it focuses primarily on superior-subordinate relations, the role-making approach of Graen and his associates has appeared continuously in the organizational literature since about 1970. To date, at least a dozen

articles, two book chapters and several papers have reported the detailed results of longitudinal investigations of five samples. (Elsea, Note 5).

Graen's (1976) role-making approach differs from much previous role research on the basis of the assumptions he makes. First, whereas most studies of leadership have assumed an average leadership style wherein the leader treats all subordinates basically the same, Graen and his colleagues contend that leaders may treat individual subordinates differently. Thus, subordinate ratings of leader behavior are treated as valid information, not error variance as under the previous assumption. Support for this assumption that leaders do not exhibit an "average leadership style" is reported by Graen, Dansereau and Minami (1972), Dansereau, Graen and Haga (1975), and Graen and Cashman (1975).

A second assumption also runs counter to the previous practice. While much research has examined the effects of leadership on unit outcomes, Graen et. al. argue that a unit's performance may be effective for many reasons--technology, market position, etc. As a result, leader behavior may be irrelevant to unit outcomes. However, leadership should be related to individual level outcomes. Graen, Orris and Johnson (1973) and Graen and Ginsburgh (1977) reported that the member-leader exchange was related to individual member performance and satisfaction.

The third assumption is that the individual can influence his role. Graen (1976) criticizes the earlier works of Katz and Kahn (1966) and Lofquist and Dawis (1969) on the grounds that the previous models are based on the concept of fixed role. In other words, in

role-taking the recruit is molded to fit the situation. In role-making, however, the individual may help mold the role, a conclusion empirically supported by Haga, Graen and Dansereau (1974) and Dansereau, Graen and Haga (1975).

Based on these assumptions, a developmental model of role making in dyads is proposed by Graen and Cashman (1975). In keeping with his open systems approach to research, Graen employs the systemic terms of input, process and output to organize the variables in the model. A verbal representation of the model is presented below.

Table 2 *

A DEVELOPMENTAL MODEL OF ROLE MAKING IN VERTICAL DYADS

Model Components		
Input	Process	Output
Member's Characteristics: Education Job Experience Job Tenure Age Sex Other	*Leader-Member Exchange* 1. Interlocked Behavior (a) member behavior: tasks (b) leader behavior: resources	*Job Performance* (rating)
Leader's Characteristics: Education Job Experience Job Tenure Age Sex Other	2. Working Relationship (a) support (b) sensitivity (c) trust	*Job Satisfaction* Overall Work Supervision— Interpers. Relations Supervision— Tech. Competence Performance Rewards
Early Dyadic Relationship: Negotiating Latitude		*Job Problems* Member Report Superior Report

Note: Some characteristics of a member combine with some characteristics of a leader in a role-making process which leads to a leader-member exchange of one kind (in-group) or another (out-group, middle-group), and subsequently to performance, satisfaction, and problems.

* from Graen and Cashman (1975)

As the model indicates, both leader and member (recruit) bring characteristics to the situation. The individual input variables of education, sex, age have not been shown to have direct effects on later variables. Future research man demonstrate such effects, however. Professionalism, operationalized by the number of subscriptions to professional journals and number of memberships in professional organizations, as characteristic of the recruit was associated with leader expectations for increased counseling and administering duties by new subordinates. (Haga, Graen and Dansereau, 1974). Role orientation, operationalized by the newcomer's intention to pursue a career related to the position he occupied at the time, was "discovered" as an important input variable by Graen, Orris and Johnson (1973). Specifically, they found that high role orientation neophytes reported greater overall satisfaction, greater satisfaction with intrinsic rewards and greater satisfaction with the value of performance rewards than did those who scored low on role orientation.

The key input variable is early dyadic exchange. Drawing on an earlier distinction by Jacobs (1970), Graen and Cashman (1975) describe two kinds of leadership exchanges. First are "supervision" exchanges, which depend upon the influence of members through contractual obligation. "Leadership" exchanges, much like the "incremental influence" notion of Katz and Kahn (1978) are based on the interpersonal relationship between leader and memeber. Leadership exchanges are therefore not strictly required by the employment contract; rather, they are negotiated by the dyad. It is this on-going development of negotiated role-making that is Graen's real contribution to our understanding of socialization processes. Negotiated role-making (read communication) necessitates the often demanded

but seldom delivered longitudinal investigation, and Graen produces it.

Much remains to be answered about early leader-member exchange. A "transactional" communicative perspective it compatible with Graen's model and can suggest a number of questions to be researched. For example, how do the demographic variables listed in the model affect the negotiating process? Which variables not specified by the model influence initial exchanges? Johnson and Graen (1973) speculate, for instance that expectations brought by the member to the job may affect the neophyte's assimilation experiences. Indeed, Schein (1968) suggests that expectations of new members exert a crucial influence on the socialization of new members. Yet these initial expectations (especially those regarding communication) have not been examined in role-making research. Another speculation, supplied by Graen, Cashman and Dansereau (1975) concerns the resources of the leader. Graen and his colleagues surmise that because of limitations on a leader's most valuable resources, his time and energy, he cannot possibly perform all of this duties. He therefore develops, through leadership exchanges, a select subset of followers. This post hoc explanation remains to be tested.

As the leader-member dyads continue to develop their relationships, their behaviors become interlocked. The leader exchanges his resources for the member's tasks. Ideally, the working relationship is characterized by support, sensitivity and trust. Dansereau, Graen and Haga (1975) found that IN members (those who reported high negotiating latitudes with their superiors) reported receiving more attention, support and sensitivity from their superiors and had less difficulty in dealing with their

superiors than did OUT (low negotiating latitude) members. Graen and Ginsburgh (1977) reported that leader acceptance was associated with leader's attention to needs, divulging of job information, supportiveness, personal sensitivity and allowance for self-determination. Similar findings by Cashman, Graen, Dansereau and Haga (1976) and Graen, Cashman, Ginsburg and Schiemann (1977) suggest that superior-subordinate relations are affected by this superior's relationship with his boss. In other words, the leader-member exchange quality may have effects on other dyads up and especially down the hierarchy. Thus, a sub-network of "IN" leaders and followers may exist. This sub-network might, with further investigation, help us understand more about mentor relationships and the rapid rise of some memebers within the hierarchy.

Output variables of the role-making model include job performance, job satisfaction and turnover. Results of job performance are equivocal. Superiors rated high professionals higher on performance (Graen, Orris and Johnson, 1973), and high professionals themselves reported more job involvement (Haga, Graen and Dansereau, 1974). Similarly, IN's reported spending more time and energy on communicating and administering activities than did OUTS. (Dansereau, Graen and Haga, 1975). High leader acceptance was also associated with high performance. (Graen and Ginsburgh, 1977). Unfortunately, performance data consisted of self-reports or superior reports; no "hard data" were used. If greater confidence is to be placed in the effects on leader-member exchange on performance, then more "objective" measures less susceptible to contamination from "halo" effects are needed.

Satisfaction is positively related to role orientation (Graen, Orris and Johnson, 1973), high negotiating latitude (Dansereau, Graen and

Haga, 1975) and high quality exchange of superior with his boss (Graen, Cashman, Ginsburgh and Schiemann, 1977). Turnover is related to role orientation (Graen, Orris and Johnson, 1973) interpersonal relations with the supervisor (Dansereau, Cashman and Graen, 1974) negotiating latitude (Dansereau, Graen and Haga, 1975) and leader acceptance (Graen and Ginsburgh (1977).

Graen (Note 6) recently described the limitations on his model. First, the leader must have adequate latitude in task assignment. Second, the leader must have the resources to "fund special assignments and to reward role-making behavior." (Graen, Note 6: p. 7). Third, at least some members must have the desire for growth potential and motivation.

Graen's role-making is important in studying socialization because it emphasizes the essentially communicative process of exchange. His longitudinal studies take into account the contingency nature of organizations (Redding, 1972) by allowing the participants to help determine the questions investigated. Graen's approach therefore is worthy of emulation and extension. For example, a closer analysis of the exchange process should involve a concentration on actual behavior. What does an exchange between leader and member "look like?" How do the parties "do" an exchange? How are the preferences of each party communicated in the bargaining process? Do peers go through a similar negotiating process? Behavioral observation might provide additional information. Such dimensions of communicative behavior as those suggested by Altman and Taylor (1973) and Knapp (1978) and the category system of Stiles (1978) could help in examining the development of interpersonal relationships in the organizational setting.

CONCLUSION

Despite the seemingly obvious importance of communication in organizational socialization, studies focusing explicitly on communication in socialization have been relatively infrequent. Thus, the role of communication has yet to be determined. It will be created, rather than discovered, as investigators begin to focus increasingly and explicitly on communicative phenomena from a communicative perspective. As has been stressed throughout this review, past approaches to the study of socialization can be enriched by the addition of a communicative perspective. In turn, our own communication studies can draw from previous findings of investigators from other disciplines. In sum, the discipline of communication has much to contribute to the study of organizational socialization processes; thie review has sought to suggest how such contributions might be used in future research.

NOTES

1. I wish to thank Professor W. C. Redding for his helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper. The responsibility for this paper, naturally, remains my own.

2. I am grateful to Dianna L. Stone for suggesting the classification scheme of the literature review. A similar organizational pattern is used in: Stone, Dianna L. A conceptual framework of organizational socialization. Unpublished manuscript, Purdue University, 1978.

3. Etzioni's use of the terms "expressive" and "instrumental" is, of course, different from traditional usage by rhetoricians. Etizioni's "expressive communication" is "instrumental" in the traditional sense.

4. Redding, W. C. Class notes. Purdue University, Spring, 1978.

5. Elsea, K. J. Graen's role-making research: A review. Unpublished manuscript, Purdue University, 1978.

6. Graen, G. Role making processes of leadership development. Unpublished manuscript, University of Cincinnati, 1978.

REFERENCES

Altman, I. and Taylor, D.A. Social Penetration: The development of interpersonal relationships. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1973.

Bandura, A. Analysis of modeling processes. In A. Bandura (ed.) Psychological modeling. Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1971.

_____, Ross, D. and Ross, S. A comparative test of the status envy, social power and secondary reinforcement theories of identificatory learning. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1963, 67, 527-534.

Baron, R.A. Attraction toward the model and model's competence as determinants of adult imitative behavior. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1970, 14, 345-351.

_____, R.A., Byrne, D. & Griffit, W. Social psychology: Understanding human interaction. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1964.

Becker, H.S. Notes of the concept of commitment. American Journal of Sociology, 1961, 66, 32-40.

_____. Personal change in adult life. Sociometry, 1964, 27, 40-53.

_____. The self and adult socialization. In E. Norbeck, D. Price-Williams, and W.M. McCord (Eds.) The study of personality: An interdisciplinary approach. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968.

_____, and Geer, B. Latent culture: A note on the theory of latent social roles. Administrative Science Quarterly, 1960, 5, 304-313.

_____, Geer, B., Strauss, A.L. and Hughes, E.C. Boys in white: Student culture in medical school. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Bible, B.L. & McComas, J.D. Role consensus and teacher effectiveness. Social Forces, 1963, 42, 225-233.

Blau, P. and Scott, W.R. Formal organizations. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1962.

Brim, O.G., Jr. Personality development as role learning. I.I. Oscoe & H. Stevenson (Eds.) Personality Development in Children Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966.

_____. Socialization through the life cycle. In O.G. Brim, Jr. and S. Wheeler (Eds.) Socialization after childhood. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966.

Caplow, T. Principles of organization. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964.

Cashman, J., Dansereau, F. Jr., Graen, G. & Haga, W.J. Organizational understructure and leadership: A longitudinal investigation of the managerial role-making process. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 1976, 15, 278-296.

Cline, V.B. & Richards, J.M. Jr. Accuracy of international perception: A general trait? Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1960, 60, 1-7.

Cohen, A.R. Situational structure, self-esteem, and threat-oriented reactions to power. In Cartwright, D. (Ed.) Studies in social power. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research, 1959.

Dalton, M. The industrial 'rate buster': A characterization. Applied Anthropology, 1948, 7, 5-18.

Daly, J.A. & McCroskey, J.C. Occupational choice and desirability as a function of communication apprehension. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1975, 22, 309-313.

Dansereau, F., Cashman, J. and Graen, G. Expectancy as a moderator of the relationship between job attitudes and turnover. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1974, 59, 228-229.

_____, Graen, G. and Haga, W.J. A vertical dyad linkage approach to leadership within formal organizations. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 1975, 13, 46-78.

Ellis, D.G. & Fisher, B.A. Phases of conflict in small group development: A Markov analysis. Human Communication Research, 1975, 1, 195-212.

Etzioni, A. A comparative analysis of complex organizations. New York: The Free Press, 1961.

Feldman, D.C. A contingency theory of socialization. Administrative Science Quarterly, 1976, 21, 433-452.

Fodor, E.M. Disparagement by a subordinate as an influence on the use of power. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1974, 59, 652-655.

Getzels, J.W. & Guba, E.G. Role, role conflict and effectiveness: An empirical study. American Sociological Review, 1954, 19, 164-175.

Gewirtz, J.L. and Baer, D.M. Deprivation and satisfaction of social reinforcers as drive conditions. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1958, 57, 165-172.

Glaser, R. and Klaus, D.J. A reinforcement analysis of group performance. Psychological Monographs: General and Applied, 1966, 80, 1-23.

Gottfredson, G.D. Career stability and redirection in adulthood. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1977, 62, 436-455.

Graen, G. Role making processes within complex organizations. In M.D. Dunnette (ed.) Handbook of industrial and organizational psychology. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1976.

_____, and Cashman, J. A role making model of leadership in formal organizations: A developmental approach. In J.G. Hunt and L.L. Larson (eds.) Leadership frontiers. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1975.

_____, Cashman, J.F., Ginsburgh, G.F. and Schiemann, W. Effects of linking-pin quality on the quality of working life of lower participants. Administrative Science Quarterly, 1977, 22, 491-504.

_____, Dansereau, F. and Minami, T. Dysfunctional leadership styles. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 1972, 7, 216-236.

_____, and Ginsburgh, S. Job resignation as a function of role orientation and leader acceptance: A longitudinal investigation of organizational assimilation. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 1977, 19, 1-17.

_____, Orris, J.B. and Johnson, T.W. Role assimilation processes in a complex organization. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 1973, 3, 395-420.

Greller, M.M. & Herold, D.M. Sources of feedback: A preliminary investigation. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 1975, 13, 244-256.

Grusec, J. & Mischel, W. The model's characteristics as determinants of social learning. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1966, 4, 211-215.

Geutzkow, H. Communication in organizations. In J.G. March (ed.) Handbook of Organizations. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965.

Hackman, J.R. The design of work in the 1980's. Organizational Dynamics, 1978, 7, 2-17.

_____. Group influences on individuals. I.M.D. Dunnette (ed.) Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1976.

Haga, W.J., Graen, G. and Dansereau, F. Professionalism and role making in a service organization: A longitudinal investigation. American Sociological Review, 1974, 39, 122-133.

Hegarty, H.W. Using subordinate ratings to elicit behavioral changes in supervisors. Journal of Applied Psychology. 1974, 59, 764-766.

Hinrichs, J.R. Value adaption of new PhD.'s to academic and industrial environment: A comparative longitudinal study. Personnel Psychology, 1972, 25, 545-565.

Hinton, B.L. & Barrow, J.C. The superior's reinforcing behavior as a function of reinforcement received. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 1975, 14, 123-143.

Horsfall, A.B. & Arensberg, C.M. Teamwork and productivity in a show factory. Human Organization, 1949, 8, 13-25.

Jablin, F.M. An experimental study of message-response in superior-subordinate communication. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Purdue University, 1977.

_____. Superior-subordinate communication: The state of the art. Paper presented at the annual International Communication Association convention, Chicago, Illinois, 1978.

Jablonsky, S.F. & Devries, D.L. Operant conditioning principles extrapolated to the theory of management. Organizational behavior and Human Performance, 1972, 7, 340-358.

Jacobs, R. Leadership and exchange in formal organizations. Alexandria, VA: Human Resources Research Organization, 1971.

Johnson, T.W. and Graen, G. Organizational assimilation and role rejection. Organizational Behavioral and Human Performance, 1973, 10, 72-87.

Kahn, R.L. & Quinn, R.P. Role stress: A framework for analysis. In McLean, A. (Ed.) Mental health and work organizations. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1970.

_____, Wolfe, D.M., Quinn, R.P. Snoek, J.D. & Rosenthal, R.A. Organizational stress: Studies in role conflict and ambiguity. New York: Wiley, 1964.

Kanter, R.M. Men and Women in the corporation. New York: Basic Books, 1977.

Katz, D. and Kahn, R.L. The social psychology of organizations. New York: Wiley, 1966, 1978.

Knapp, M.L. Social intercourse: From greeting to goodbye. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1978.

Kraut, A. A study of role conflicts and their relationships to job satisfaction, tension and performance. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1965.

Lefkowitz, M., Blake, R.R. & Mouton, J.S. Status factors in pedestrian violation of traffic signals. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1966, 3, 197-205.

Lieberman, S. The effects of changes in roles on the attitudes of role occupants. Human Relations, 1956, 9, 385-402.

Locke, E.A. Satisfiers and dissatisfiers among white collar and blue collar employees. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1973, 58, 67-76.

Lofquist, L.H. and Dawis, R.V. Adjustment to work: A psychological view of man's problems in work-oriented society. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969).

Lowin, A. & Craig, J.R. The influence of level of performance on managerial style: An experimental object-lesson in the ambiguity of correlational data. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 1968, 3, 440-458.

Macedonia, R.M. Expectation-press and survival. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Graduate School of Public Administration, New York University, 1969.

Mawhinney, T.C. Operant terms and concepts in the description of individual work behavior: Some problems of interpretation, application and evaluation. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1975, 60, 704-712.

Meissner, M. The language of work. In R. Dubin (Ed.) Handbook of work, organization, and society. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1976.

Nord, W.R. Beyond the teaching machine: The neglected area of operant conditioning in the theory and practice of management. Organizational Behavior and Human Perforance, 1969, 4, 375-401.

Norton, R.W. Foundation of a communicator style construct. Human Communication Research, 1978, 4, 99-112.

Odham, G.R. The motivational strategies used by superiors: Relationships to effectiveness indicators. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 1976, 15, 66-86.

Orne, M.T. and Scheibe, K.E. The contribution of nondeprivation factors in the production of sensory deprivation effects: The psychology of the 'panic button.' Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1964, 68, 3-12.

Parsons, T. "Suggestions for a sociological approach to the theory of organizations, I, II. Administrative Science Quarterly, 1956, 1, 63-85 & 225-239.

Porter, L.W. & Lawler, E.E. Managerial attitudes and performance. Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin, 1968.

_____, Lawler, E.E. & Hackman, J.R. Behavior in organizations, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975.

Quinn, R.P., Staines, G.L. and McCullough, M.R. Job satisfaction: Is there a trend? Manpower research monograph, No. 30, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974.

Redding, W.C. Communication within the organization: An interpretive review of theory and research. New York: Industrial Communication Council, 1972.

Roethlisberger, F.J. & Dickson, W.J. Management and the worker. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939.

Rosenberg, M. Occupations and values. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1957.

Schein, E.H., Organizational socialization. Industrial Management Review, 1968, 2, 1-16.

Scott, R.L. Communication as an intentional, social system. Human Communication Research, 1977, 3, 258-268.

Selznick, P. TVA and the grass roots. Berkley: University of California Press, 1953.

Sherwood, R. The Bantu clerk: A study of role expectations. Journal of Social Psychology, 1958, 47, 285-316.

Skinner, B. F. Science and human behavior. New York: MacMillan, 1953.

_____. The science of learning and the art of teaching. Harvard Educational Review, 1954, 24, 86-97.

_____. Walden two. New York: MacMillan, 1948.

Stanton, A. and Swhartz, M. The Mental Hospital. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1954.

Stiles, W.B. Verbal response modes and dimensions of interpersonal roles: A method of discourse analysis. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1978, 36, 693-703.

Thomas, E.J., Polansky, N. & Kounin, J. The expected behavior of a potentially helpful person. Human Relations, 1955, 8, 165-174.

Thornton, R. and Nardi, P.M. The dunamics of role acquisition. American Journal of Sociology, 1975, 80, 870-885.

Van Maanen, J. "Breaking in": A consideration of organizational socialization. (Tech. Rep. No. 10) Irvine, California: University of California, Graduate School of Administration, August, 1972.

_____. People processing: Strategies of organizational socializing. Organizational Dynamics, 1978, 7, 18-36.

Wanous, J.P. Effects of a realistic job preview on job acceptance, job attitudes, and job survival. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1973, 58, 327-332.

Weiss, H.M. Social learning of work values in organizations. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1978, 63, 711-718.

_____. Subordinate imitation of superior behavior: The role of modeling in organizational scoialization. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 1977, 19, 89-105.

Weitz, J. Job expectancy and survival. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1956, 40, 245-247.

Wheeler, S. Socialization in correctional communities. American Sociological Review, 1961, 26, 697-712.

_____. The structure of formally organized socialization settings. In O. G. Brim, Jr. and S. Wheeler (Eds.) Socialization after childhood. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966.

Whyte, W.H., Jr. The organization man. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1956.